

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 OMB-01 EB-11 AID-20 DRC-01

/181 W

----- 061253

R 071720Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7764

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL MADRAS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 12905

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR,IN, US

SUBJECT: THE STATE OF INDO-US RELATIONS

SUMMARY: ONE BITE DOES NOT A SWALLOW MAKE, END SUMMARY

1. OVER THE PAST MONTH THERE HAS BEEN A SERIES OF NOTABLY CORDIAL TALKS BETWEEN AMERICANS AND INDIANS. THE SECRETARY HAS MET WITH THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND THE FOREIGN SECRETARY, AND I HAVE DONE SO ALSO. I HAVE MET WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, BEARING A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT. THE INDIAN AMBASSADOR

IN WASHINGTON HAS BEEN INVITING AMERICAN CAPITALISTS TO SET UP IN HIS COUNTRY WHERE THERE ARE NO UNIONS, INCOME TAXES, OR ANTITRUST LAWS. THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN NEW DELHI HAS BEEN
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SHOWERED WITH SOME MANNER OF SPECIAL ATTENTION, SUCH AS PROMISES

TO GRANT VISAS TO FELLOW PROFESSORS. NOTHING VERY PUBLIC HAS OCCURRED, BUT ON AT LEAST ONE OCCASION THE DOG DID NOT BARK, AND THAT IS TO BE NOTED. TWO YEARS AGO THE DISPATCH OF THE ENTERPRISE THROUGH THE STRAITS OF MALACCA, OSTENSIBLY HEADED FOR CALCUTTA, SHOCKED INDIAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS TO A DEGREE ALMOST EQUIVALENT TO THE CHINESE INVASION (OR RETALIATION) OF 962. BY CONTRAST, LAST WEEK ANOTHER TASK FORCE IN A MUCH MORE OMINOUS INTERNATIONAL SETTING (ALTHOUGH ONE LESS DIRECTLY OF CONCERN TO INDIA) SAILED THROUGH THE STRAITS, TO THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF GROANS AND OBJECTIONS ALL THE WAY FROM JAKARTA TO NAIROBI, BUT WITH SCARCELY A SOUND FROM NEW DELHI. THE BEST POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT HEREABOUTS HAS WRITTEN: "THE SOVIET BLOCK DIPLOMATS IN DELHI APPEAR TO BE SOMEWHAT PERPLEXED BY THE CAUTIOUS INDIAN REACTION THIS TIME WHICH IS IN SHARP CONTRAST WITH THE STRONG RESENTMENT VOICED ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS WHEN THE UNITED STATES SENT ITS WARSHIPS TO THE INDIAN OCEAN. THEY HAVE NOTED THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAS SIGNIFICANTLY SAID NOTHING SO FAR ON THE SUBJECT AND THAT MR. SWARAN SINGH'S OBSERVATIONS MADE WITH HIS CHARACTERISTIC UNDERSTATEMENT FULLY REFLECT THE PRESENT MOOD OF RETICENCE HERE."

2. WE DISCERN A PATTERN HERE: OF CONDUCT IF NOT OF INTENTION. FIRST WE BELIEVE THERE IS A BODY OF OPINION WITHIN THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT THAT ON GENERAL PRINCIPLE WANTS GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND A SUBSET THAT WANTS NOT ONLY GOOD RELATIONS IN GENERAL BUT MUCH CLOSER ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN PARTICULAR. SECOND, WE DARE TO BELIEVE THAT THE ECLIPSE OF PAKISTAN IS SLOWLY MAKING ITS WAY INTO OFFICIAL INDIAN THOUGHT. WHATEVER AMERICAN WARSHIPS MAY BE UP TO, IT IS SEEN IN NEW DELHI THAT THERE WILL BE NO ALTERATION IN THE OVERWHELMING PREDOMINANCE OF INDIAN ARMS IN THE SUBCONTINENT. SOME OF THE EDGINESS AND FEAR IS FADING.

3. ALL THIS HAS CAUSED US TO WORRY JUST A BIT. WE HAVE LIVED WITH OPEN HOSTILITY OPENLY EXPRESSED FOR SO LONG, THAT WE FEAR WE MAY BE TOO EASILY BEGUILLED BY WHAT ARE, AFTER ALL, ROUTINE DIPLOMATIC MANNERS. "GOOD MORNING, EXCELLENCY.

HOW SPLENDID TO SEE YOU. AND HOW IS YOUR SPLENDID COUNTRY." THAT KIND OF THING CAN TURN AN AMERICANS HEAD IN NEW DELHI.
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FORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, THERE IS ALWAYS THE PRIME MINISTER TO KEEP US IN TOUCH WITH REALITY.

4. I HAD P.N. HAKSAR, HER PRIVATE SECRETARY FROM 1967 TO 1972, AND MORE RECENTLY THE HEAD OF THE PRISONER OF WAR TALKS, TO LUNCH YESTERDAY. IF PERFECTLY CORRECT, AND RELAXED, IT WAS NOT REALLY CORDIAL. RATHER, THE ATMOSPHERE WAS THAT OF TWO PERSONS ON GOOD ENOUGH TERMS TO ADMIT TO FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENTS

IN AN IMPERSONAL WAY. I STARTED OFF BY SAYING I WAS OF THE IMPRESSION THAT THINGS WERE GETTING SOMEWHAT BETTER BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. HE REPLIED THAT HE SUPPOSED HE WAS EXPECTED TO SAY YES TO THAT, BUT THAT HE COULD NOT. I HAD CONVEYED, SOMEWHAT PRESUMPTUOUSLY, THE GREETINGS OF DR. KISSINGER. HE RECALLED THAT AT THEIR LAST MEETING IN NOVEMBER OF 1972 HE HAD PROPOSED THAT IF INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES WANTED A DECENT RELATIONSHIP THEY MUST SIT DOWN AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS AND REALLY LAY OUT THEIR FUNDAMENTAL VIEWS, HOWSOEVER DISAGREEABLE, BEFORE ONE ANOTHER. WHAT, FOR EXAMPLE, DID THE US MEAN BY STATING THAT INDIA IS A WORLD POWER WHILE PAKISTAN CAN ONLY BE A REGIONAL ONE. (THIS IS A FORMULATION THE SECRETARY HAS USED WITH THEM.) WHAT WAS OUR VIEW OF THE WORLD GENERALLY, OF WHICH SOUTH ASIA WAS BUT A PART. AS THE SECRETARY HAS SEVERAL TIMES MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH AN EXCHANGE, I RESPONDED SAYING I ASSUMED HAKSAR WAS THINKING OF A REALLY SERIOUS TWO DAY MEETING. AT LEAST A WEEK, HE REPLIED. WHEREUPON I LEFT OFF THE SUBJECT OF SUMMITRY, AND ASKED WHAT ON WHAT ISSUES HE THOUGHT US TO BE FUNDAMENTALLY AT ODDS. WE STARTED WITH KASHMIR. BEFORE WHICH EVERYTHING HAD BEEN WONDERFUL. THEN THERE WAS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S DECISION TO ARM PAKISTAN IN 1954.

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I WILL SPARE THE READER THE DETAILS, SAVE TO NOTE THAT I MADE THE STORY MORE COMPLEX, AND THAT WITH RESPECT TO PAKISTAN INSISTED-- AND HE DID NOT DISAGREE--THAT WHATEVER OUR INTENTIONS PRIOR TO 1965 OUR ARMS POLICY IN SOUTH ASIA WAS CERTAINLY IN EFFECT REVISIONIST AND POSSIBLE REVANCHIST. SINCE 1965 OUR POLICY-- AND OURS ALONE--HAS BEEN THAT OF CONFIRMING THE STATUS QUO, WHICH IN REALITY IS OVERWHELMINGLY FAVORABLE TO INDIA. HE DID NOT DISAGREE, BUT NEITHER WAS HE PLACATED. HE SAID THE BIG THING NOW WAS FOR THE CONSTITUENT PARTS OF SOUTH ASIA, INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND BANGLADESH, TO WORK OUT COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH ONE ANOTHER, AND THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER THE UNITED STATES

WOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE TO THIS END. I ASKED HAD WE NOT BEEN OF ASSISTANCE IN THE RECENT PRISONER OF WAR NEGOTIATIONS. HE AGREED THAT WHEN THE PAKISTANIS SEEMED ABOUT TO THROW OVER THE SECRET

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TABLE, INDIA CABLED KAUL TO BESPEAK THE SECRETARY'S INTERVENTION, A YUMASGTHIS OCCURRED. EVEN SO, ETC. ETC.

5. I REVERTED TO A NOW FAMILIAR THEME THAT REGARDLESS OF WHAT HE MIGHT THINK, OUR RELATIONS WERE IMPROVING, BUT MOSTLY BECAUSE THEY ARE VANISHING. WE WERE INDEED MUCH TOO MUCH INVOLVED IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE SUBCONTINENT IN THE 1950S AND 1960S BUT WE'RE NOW LURCHING, ALMOST, IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION. NOT A WEEK PASSED BUT THAT I CLOSED SOMETHING DOWN IN INDIA. THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT DID NOT YET GRASP THIS, BUT IT WAS TRUE. IS SUSPECTED OUR RELATIONS COULD BECOME QUITE EQUABLE ON THE LEVEL OF OUR RESPECTIVE RELATIONS WITH EQUADOR, BUT THIS DID NOT SATISFY ME. I SPOKE OF DEMOCRACY. HE DISMISSED THE SUBJECT. NOR DID HE ACKNOWLEDGE OUR WITHDRAWAL. (HE TOLD THE BRITISH IN LONDON NOT LONG AGO THAT WE USE PL 480 FUNDS TO FINANCE CIA ACTIVITIES.) I SAID HE COULD THINK WHAT HE WOULD, BUT IT WAS THE FACT THAT MOST MAJOR COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD WERE FINDING THEMSELVES MORE AND MORE MIXED UP IN ONE ANOTHERS' AFFAIRS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF INDIA WITH WHICH WE ALL FELT LESS AND LESS INVOLVED. I SAID I HOPED ANTI AMERICANISM WAS NOT JUST THE REFLECTION OF THE PECULIAR EDUCATION AT OXFORD AND L.S.E. OF WHAT ORWELL CALLED "THE RIGHT LEFT PEOPLE" IN THE 1930S. (SHE IS OXFORD. HE IS L.S.E. THEY ARE A PAIR) HE DIDN'T SEEM TO UNDERSTAND. (HE DID NOT IMPRESS ME AS MUCH GIVEN TO HANDLING INTELLECTUAL IDEAS. OUR INTELLIGENCE HAS GENERALLY LABELLED HIM PRO SOVIET. I WOULD NOT BE SO CERTAIN, BEYOND THE DEGREE THAT PERSONS WITH SUCH EDUCATIONS TEND TO HAVE

BECOME SUCH. HE WOULD COMMENT IN LAWYERS TONES--ARGUING THE CLIENTS CASE--THAT INDIA HAD HANDLED ITS MARXIST PARTIES MUCH BETTER THAN HAS FRANCE OR ITALY. WHICH IS TRUE, IS IT NOT? BY HANDLE HE CLEARLY MEANT LIMITING THEIR GROWTH AND INFLUENCE. HE ASCRIBED THIS TO NEHRU.) IN A FINAL ATTEMPT, I SAID THAT WE ARE NOT ALONE IN THIS FEELING OF DIMINSHING CONTRACTS. MOST OF MY COLLEAGUES ALONG SHANTI PATH DESCRIBED THE SAME EXPERIENCE OF RESPONDING STEADILY TO NEGATIVE INDIAN SIGNALS--GET RID OF YOUR PEACE CORPS, YOUR FOUNDATIONS, YOUR PROFESSORS, YOUR AID. THIS I SAID WAS EASY TO DO. BUT SURELY THERE WERE OTHER SIGNALS, HOWEVER WEAK, AND WE WORRIED THAT WE WERE NOT RECEIVING THEM, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMICS. HE RELAXED AT THIS POINT AND SAID WE WERE NOT GETTING AN ECONOMIC SIGNAL BECAUSE THERE WAS NONE. THE CONGRESS PARTY HAD NO UNDERSTANDING OF INDUSTRIAL-
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ZATION, AND APPROACHED ECONOMIC ISSUES FROM A PEASANT VIEWPOINT. WE DON'T KNOW OUR OWN MIND HE SAID, AND IT SHOULD NOT SURPRISE YOU THAT WE DON'T TELL YOU WHAT WE THINK. I SAID I WAS GOING TO TAKE UP TENNIS.

6. I RETURNED TO THE CHANCERY TO LEARN THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD REPLIED TO A QUESTION BY THE PARLIAMENTS CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON ORISSA LEGISLATION ASKING HOW MANY VISITS HAD US OFFICIALS MADE TO ORISSA DURING MARCH-OCTOBER OF THIS YEAR. (SIX.) THE POINT WAS RAISED BY THE HUSBAND OF MRS. GANDHI'S GOOD FRIEND, FORMER COMMUNIST AND FORMER ORISSA CHIEF MINISTER SHRIMATI NANDINI SATPATHY. ELECTIONS ARE COMING UP THERE. AT MY MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OCTOBER 18 SHE MENTIONED TO ME AMERICAN INTERFERENCE THERE. THIS IS A COUNTRY OF FIVE HUNDRED SIXTY MILLION PEOPLE WHICH IS FREIGHTENED OF AMERICAN CONSULAR OFFICERS. WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO, AND SHOULD TRUST THEM ABOUT NOTHING.

7. I NOTE THAT MR. BREZHNEV IS DUE HERE LATER THIS MONTH (AT LEAST I THINK HE IS, THE SOVIETS AND INDIANS INSIST THAT NOTHING IS ABSOLUTELY FIRM) AND IT IS EVEN CONCEIVABLE THAT SWARAN SINGH AND KEWAL SINGH MAY HAVE MADE ALL THEIR NICE NOISES IN ORDER TO KEEP US CALM FOR WHAT WILL COME OUT OF THE INDIAN-SOVIET ENCOUNTER. I AM NOT PREDICTING DOOM AND DISASTER BUT WANT YOU TO KNOW WE ARE CERTAINLY PREPARED FOR IT.
MOYNIHAN

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